XABIER ARTIAGOITIA

FUNCTIONAL HEADS AND EVENTIVE NOMINALS: THE BASQUE PERSPECTIVE

1. INTRODUCTION

Derived nominals in Basque, let alone argument taking nominals, have drawn little attention from grammarians in the last fifty years, and that must be so for good reason given that the study of Basque grammar has gathered a strong body of research work during that same period. One of the reasons for this scarcity might be that Basque has other more salient typological features (such as being ergative, or having polypersonal agreement, and so on); another might be that the language has a productive type of gerundive or DP-like nominalisation, a fact that may have blurred the interest in eventive nominalisations (subject to certain restrictions between roots and nominalisers and which are far less frequent in the language). Be it as it may, my goal here is to somehow fill the gap in the study of Basque eventive nominals and, at the same time, try to understand how these relate to, or contrast with, the gerundive or DP-like nominalisations.

The article is organised as follows: section 2 covers the context and theoretical assumptions I make in order to understand the rest of the article. Section 3 provides basic information about Basque nominalisations, both derived event nominals
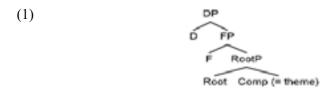
and nominalised clauses, including a short summary of previous work. Section 4 presents an analysis of Basque eventive nominals based on Alexiadou (*Functional Structure*, "Ergativity", "D vs. n Nominalizations") and Bruening, which basically proposes a very small number of verbal functional categories below the head *n*, in contrast to nominalised clauses (which display the full array of verbal functional projections). Section 5 is a recapitulation of the major findings and conclusions.

2. NOMINALS AND BEYOND: THE FUNCTIONAL DETERMINATION HYPOTHESIS

I follow a constructionist view of nominalisations (à la Alexiadou, *Functional Structure* among many others) that relies on the body of work done within Distributed Morphology. Hence, roots are category neutral in principle and their final syntactic behaviour is the result of merging them under a different array of syntactic categories. I assume that result nominals have their nominal structure built on predicate roots with the addition of functional categories typical of noun phrases (F would typically be Number and Agr and, in more recent proposals, it would additionally include the head Classifier):[1]

(1)

[adapted from Alexiadou, *Functional Structure* 19]

More recent proposals assume that the head *n* may mediate between F and the root; I remain neutral with respect to that issue, since it will not play any role in the following discussion.

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[1] The abbreviations throughout this article are customary in generative work: Agr = Agreement, Asp = Aspect, Class = Classifier, Comp = complement, D = Determiner, ext. arg. = external argument, F = functional, gen = genitive, n = nominalising head, Num = Number, P = preposition, Poss = Possesor, Tns = Tense, v = verbalising head. In the glossed examples (from example 13 on), I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules and their corresponding abbreviations. Examples (19a), (22a), (23a), (32a–b), (34), (35a–b) and (36) and (i) in note 7 are from either the *Contemporary Dynamic Prose* or the *Corpus of Contemporary Basque*.

Event nominals, on the other hand, build their nominal structure on predicate roots which themselves also contain some verbal structure:

(2)

[adapted from Alexiadou, *Functional Structure* 19]

In this respect, event nominals are nominals which have some of the event structure a regular sentence would have. In Alexiadou (*Functional Structure*), little *v* was considered to be the head introducing the external argument; more recent proposals assume that *v* is just a verbalising head, whereas the head *Voice* is the one responsible for introducing the external argument. I will assume this latter position henceforth.

One interesting point stemming from Alexiadou's seminal work is her ***functional determination hypothesis***; that is to say, the claim that the number of functional heads involved in event nominals of the kind outlined in (2) can be parametrised for each language and/or morpheme and, thus, that the different functional architecture inside nominals will give rise to distinct features and morphosyntactic behaviour. To give the reader a flavour of this, Alexiadou ("Ergativity") draws the following distinctions among several types of argument taking nominals:

(3) a. English DP-gerunds: [DP [AspP [VoiceP [vP [Root]]]]]
     b. Greek nominalisations &
        English nominal gerunds: [DP [NumP [ClassP$_{[\pm count]}$ [nP [VoiceP [vP...]]]]]]
     c. certain Greek nominalisations &
        English derived nominals: [DP [NumP [ClassP$_{[\pm count]}$ [nP [vP...]]]]]

So, for example, English DP-gerunds allow accusative case and adverbial modifiers but cannot be pluralised, properties which probably follow from the presence of Voice and Aspect and the absence of the heads *n* and Classifier, respectively:

(4) a. Criticizing the book annoyed us   (Alexiadou, 11a)
     b. Pat disapproved of my quietly leaving the room (13a)
     c. *He could not stand her critizings me (15)

English nominal gerunds, on the other hand, have the reverse set of properties (cf. 5a–b–c), and still keep the head *Voice* given that they pattern with passives in having an implicit external argument (cf. 5d):

(5) a. The reading of the manuscript pleased us (Alexiadou, 11b)
 b. The careful restoring of the painting took six months (13b)
 c. I heard of repeated killings of unarmed civilians (16a)[2]
 d. The report mentioned the painfully slow registering of the children (24b)
  (= 'someone registered the children' but *'the children registered')
 e. The report mentioned the painfully slow registration of the children (24c)
  (= 'the children registered')

Other derived nominals (cf. *-tion* in 5e) lack the head *Voice* and, hence, the interpretation of the nominals leaves the external argument out.

On more general grounds, and with respect to the diagnostics for functional categories in nominals, one could draw the following correlation between data and presence of functional categories (cf. Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*, "Ergativity", "D vs. n Nominalizations"):

(6) *verbal properties*:

nominative case for the subject	→ Tns
presence of auxiliaries	→ Asp
aspectual adverbs & aspect shift	→ Asp
availability of accusative Case; manner adverbs	→ Voice
implicit external argument	→ Voice

(7) *nominal properties*:

genitive subjects	→ Poss
genitive objects	→ n
gender & plural marking	→ Class, Num
adjectival modification	→ Num
presence of several types of determiners	→ Determiner

In a more recent essay, Alexiadou ("D vs. n Nominalizations" 90) argues that there are schematically two types of argument taking nominals; those where there is a DP layer (which determines the DP-distribution of the nominal) hiding a relatively wide

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[2] Pluralisation with nominal gerund depends on the inner Aspect of the verbalised root involved; cf. also Borer and Alexiadou, Iordăchioaia and Soare.

range of verbal functional structure, and those where there is a DP layer with a relatively wide range of nominal functional structure that embeds some verbal structure:

(8) a. DP-nominalisations: [DP [verbal FP [vP...]]]   (*verbal internal structure*)
     b. n nominalisations: [DP [nominal FP [*n*P [(verbal FP)   (*mixed internal structure*)

The bulk of that article is an attempt to explain why things are the way they are (i.e. verbal properties or verbal functional categories can be rendered under nominal categories, but the opposite is in general not true). The Basque data we will be discussing in the rest of the paper will certainly point in the same direction.

Case-marking inside nominals is also relevant for our discussion ahead. According to Alexiadou ("Ergativity"), there is a clear ergativity pattern in event nominalisations across many languages, manifested in the fact that the patient/theme argument of transitive nominals and the subject of intransitives receive the same case mark (genitive), whereas the subject/agent argument of transitives gets a special case (a *by*-phrase):

(9) a. the destruction of the city by the barbarians
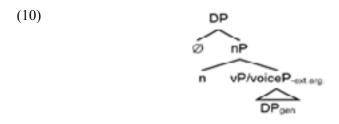   b. the arrival of the policemen
     [c. the jumping of the cow]

As is well-known, similar patterns obtain in Greek, French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish (cf. Picallo; Alexiadou, *Functional Structure* and so on). According to Alexiadou ("Ergativity" 359) the ergativity pattern in nominalisations is pervasive, even for ergative languages, provided the S argument is case-marked in a uniform way. The following table summarises the situation:[3]

	N/A system	E/A system	Nominalisation
A-argument	Nom	Erg	PP
S-argument	Nom	Abs	Gen
P-argument	Acc	Abs	Gen

Table 1. Cross-linguistic observations and ergativity in nominalisation
(Alexiadou, "Ergativity" 359)

[3] A stands for agent, P for patient (transitive clauses), and S for the subject of intransitive predicates, Nom for nominative, Erg for ergative, Abs for absolutive, Gen for genitive, and PP for Prepositional Phrase. N/A means nominative/absolutive system and E/A ergative/absolutive.
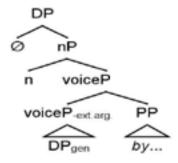
How do we account for the ergativity inside nominals? If we accept that nominalisations must lack external arguments (Grimshaw), it looks as though the presence of the nominaliser *n* is what triggers the ergative pattern in nominals:

(10)

DP
∅   nP
n   vP/voiceP$_{-ext.arg.}$
DP$_{gen}$
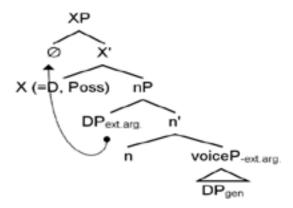
[Alexiadou, "Ergativity" 370]

According to Alexiadou the nominaliser **n** is responsible for the genitive case internal to nP. Thus, the question is how the licensing of the external argument inside nominalisations takes place: if the predicate is unaccusative, then there is no external argument to start with; if, on the other hand, the predicate is transitive, then the external argument is either (a) realised inside VoiceP as a PP adjunct (cf. Bruening), or (b) projected outside nP and gets the case available from a higher head, D or *Possessor* (Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*, "Ergativity"); the two options are shown in (11) and (12) respectively:

(11) The destruction of the manuscript by John

DP
∅   nP
n   voiceP
voiceP$_{-ext.arg.}$ PP
DP$_{gen}$ by...

[adapted from Alexiadou, "Ergativity", after Bruening]

(12) John's destruction of the manuscript

[adapted from Alexiadou, "Ergativity" 370][4]

We shall touch on the issue of case-assignment within nominals again in section 4.

3. A LOOK AT BASQUE NOMINALISATIONS

Basque is a flexible SOV language with pluripersonal agreement; it is also considered an ergative-absolutive language. These features are illustrated in the following examples:

(13) [after asking 'What happened?']
  Garazi-k   gol-a   sartu   du.   (SOV order)
  Garazi-ERG goal-ART score.PFV AUX
  'Garazi scored a goal.'

(14) *Bihar   liburu-ak   ekarriko   **d-i-zki-zu-t**.*
  tomorrow book-PL.ART   bring.FUT   PRS-have-PL-2SG-1SG
  'Tomorrow I will bring the books to you.'

(15) a. ***Garazi-k*** *gol-a   sartu   du.* (=13)
     Garazi-ERG goal-ART   score.PFV AUX
     'Garazi scored a goal.'

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[4] With Bruening, I assume that the external argument in [spec, n] can be a null element; following Sichel, he notates that null argument as PRO.

   b. ***Garazi** ondo lehiatu   da.*
      Garazi well compete.PFV AUX
      'Garazi competed well.'

   c. *Jone-k   **Garazi** ikusi   du.*
      Jone-ERG Garazi see.PFV   AUX
      'Jone saw Garazi.'

In a nutshell: (13) represents a typical SOV order in an out-the-blue context; the bold auxiliary in (14) contains agreement markers for the subject (1st person singular), the object (3rd person plural) and the dative, indirect, object (2nd person singular); finally, the data in (15) show how the subject of transitive sentences bears ergative case (-*k* in 15a), whereas the subject of intransitive sentences bears absolutive case (cf. 15b), just like the object of a transitive sentence (cf. 15c); the absolutive case is assumed to be Ø.

   Basque lacks a passive construction proper (cf. Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina; de Rijk, *Standard Basque*) and the alleged passive is generally regarded as a biclausal structure where the participle heads a non-finite structure with the usual case-marking of agents, i.e. ergative (Ortiz de Urbina and Uribe-Etxebarria):

(16) *Liburu hau* [*ni-k   (aspaldi)   idatzi-a*]   *da.*
      book   this 1sg-ERG long ago   written-ART is
      literally: 'This book is written by me long ago.'

Northern dialects may marginally resort to the instrumental postposition (instead of the ergative) in structures like (16) above, which is considered a calque from French (de Rijk, *Standard Basque* 673). The absence of an available *by*-phrase in Basque nominals will be relevant for the proposal in section 4.

3.1 PREVIOUS WORK ON DERIVED NOMINALS

   The few works (Artiagoitia, *Hatsarreak*; Azkarate; Gondra; Urrestarazu) on Basque nominalisations generally acknowledge that the event/result distinction advocated by Grimshaw also obtains for Basque, as the following data show, taking the nominal *erosketa* (*eros* 'buy, purchase' + -*keta*) as the starting point:

(17) *eros-**keta*** = act of purchase and result of purchase

(18) a. *Auto-a-ren eros-**keta**   ikusi   dugu.*
      car-ART-GEN purchase-keta see.PFV AUX
      'We witnessed the buying of the car.'

    b. *Supermerkatu-ko eros-**keta**-(a)k   mahai gain-ean   utzi   ditut.*
       supermarket-ko purchase-keta-PL.ART table top-SG.LOC leave.PFV AUX
       'I left the supermarket purchases on the table.'

Azkarate, in a somewhat programmatic article, cites the nominalising suffixes which qualify for an event reading: *-era*, *-keta*, and *-pen* (and its morphophonological variant *-men*) would be the most common, together with *-kuntza*, *-t(z)e*, and the Romance borrowing *-zio*. Here, for clarification, I take *itzul*, a three way ambiguous root meaning 'return, go back', 'give back' and 'translate', to show how three productive suffixes can give rise to eventive nominalisations:

(19) a. *itzul-era* 'return' →
     *ha-ren   itzul-**era**   ospakizun   bat izango da*
     3SG-GEN return-era celebration one be.FUT AUX
     'her return will be a celebration'

    b. *itzul-keta* 'reimbursement' →
     *diru-a-ren   itzul-**keta** datorren aste-an   gauzatuko da*
     money-ART-GEN return-keta next   week-SG.LOC happen.FUT AUX
     'the reimbursement of the money will happen next week'

    c. *itzul-pen* 'translation' →
     *testamendu berri-a-ren   itzul-**pen**-a-k   luze jo   zuen*
     testament new-ART-GEN translate-pen-ART-ERG long take.PFV AUX
     'the translation of the New Testament took a long time'

As hinted by Azkarate, the tendency is for unaccusative roots to take the suffix *-era*, whereas *-keta* and *-pen* show up with transitive roots; the examples in (19) pattern with that claim. Although Azkarate restricts *-pen* to psychological predicates (cf. *onespen* 'acceptance', *harrimen* 'astonishment') and predicates of thinking and saying (cf. *adierazpen* 'declaration'), the issue remains unexplored at large; in fact, examples like *itzulpen* 'translation' above or *suntsipen* 'destruction' (cf. 31b) suggest that the said restriction may be too stiff.

Azkarate's list for possible eventive nominalisers may not be exhaustive,[5] but it comes close to it. In any case, not all nominalisers give rise to event nominals. The root *erre* has both *erreketa* and *erredura* 'burning', but only the former has an eventive reading:

(20) a. *Sardin-a-ren   erre-**keta** 8-reta-rako programatu   dute*
          sardine-ART-GEN burn-keta 8-PL-for   programme.PFV AUX

     b. **Sardin-a-ren   erre-**dura** 8-reta-rako programatu   dute*
          sardine-ART-GEN   burn-dura 8-PL-for   programme.PFV AUX
          'They scheduled the burning of the sardine for 8 o'clock'

Gondra is a recent essay on Basque deverbal nominals within a Distributed Morphology framework which tries to capture the nuances among nominals in terms of a different arrangement of functional projections. Space limitations prevent me from discussing this work in detail. However, from the point of view of the event vs. result nominals distinction the article contains a puzzling oversight: all event vs. result nominals in this article are presented as contrasts between *-keta* vs. *-pen* nominals. This seems clearly incorrect:

(21) a. **Euskalki-en sailka-**pen**-a-k   hiru egun iraun   zuen* (Gondra, 9b)
          dialect-PL.GEN classify-PEN-ART-ERG three day last.PFV AUX
          'The classification of the Basque dialects lasted three days'

     b. √ *Euskalki-en   sailka-**pen**-a-k   hainbat urte iraun   zuen*
          dialect-PL.GEN classify-pen-ART-ERG several year last.PFV AUX
          'The classification of the Basque dialects lasted several years'

Example (21a) is certainly ungrammatical, but for pragmatic reasons (cf. Urrestarazu): the classification of Basque dialects (by Bonaparte, in the case at hand) took several years and a huge network of assistants and informants, not three days. If one leaves that reduced time frame aside, the example becomes grammatical.[6]

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[5] The suffix *-tza*, occasionally deverbal, is one of the suffixes that also gives rise to eventive nominals.

[6] A problematic aspect of Gondra is that he claims that eventive nominals must obligatorily have an overt external argument, which is clearly not correct in view of (18a, 19b, 25) and so on. In fact, example (21b) should still be ungrammatical according to Gondra, given that the external argument is not explicit. In addition, the data Gondra provides to characterise the absence of adverbial modification

3.2 DERIVED EVENT NOMINALS IN BASQUE

In this subsection, I will explain the main features of Basque derived event nominals thoroughly. Given that even Grimshaw admitted the existence of simple event nominals like *race* or *trip*, i.e. nominals that can have an event interpretation but do not take any arguments to start with, we must make sure that derived eventive nominals in Basque are not of this kind. The features of derived event nominals in Basque we will discuss are: i. arguments are obligatory; ii. they lack adverbial and PP modifiers; iii. aspectual modifiers show up in the form of adjective modification; iv. subjects, if overt, are also genitive; v. Basque derived event nominals may be plural; vi. determiners other than the article are possible (e.g. demonstratives).

i. Obligatoriness of arguments. This is the obvious diagnostics that makes an eventive nominal an argument taking nominal. This is certainly the case of *-keta* and *-pen* nominals when they have an eventive interpretation:

(22) a. *senarr-a-k   izan zezakeen beste alde ezkutu-ren bat-en*
husband-ART-ERG have AUX.that other side hidden-GEN one-GEN
*bila-**keta**-ri   ekin   nion*
search-keta-DAT engage.PFV AUX
‘I engaged in the searching for some hidden side that [your] husband could have.’

b. **bila-**keta**-ri   ekin   nion*
search.keta-DAT engage.PFV AUX
‘I engaged in the searching.’

(23) a. *Bihartxe   abiatuko naiz hara, gu-re   etorr-**era**-ren berri emate-ra.*
tomorrow go.FUT AUX   there 1PL-GEN arrive-era-GEN new giving-to
‘I will go there tomorrow to spread the news of our arrival.’

b. * *Bihartxe   abiatuko naiz   hara, etorr-**era**-ren   berri emate-ra.*
tomorrow go.FUT   AUX   there arrive-era.SG-GEN new giving-to
‘I will go there tomorrow to spread the news of the arrival.’

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inside eventive nominals are flawed. In general, as discussed by Urrestarazu, Gondra's description of the facts is rather inaccurate and several of his ungrammatical examples are so for purely pragmatic reasons.

Examples like (22b) and (23b), where the eventive nominals *bilaketa* 'searching' and *etorrera* 'arrival' have no argument, are bad; we must specify what we are searching for (22a) or who is arriving (23a), *pace* Grimm and McNally.

As has been repeatedly suggested in the literature (cf. Picallo; Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*, and so on), this obligatoriness of arguments affects unaccusative and transitive predicates (the latter have an implicit subject). Given that most unaccusative predicates construct their eventive reading with *-era*, the highly productive inchoative/causative alternation in Basque is a good testing ground to see how *-keta* and *-pen* nominals relate to the obligatoriness of arguments. The inchoative/causative alternation in Basque is of the equipollent type (Berro et al.), with a change of valency and auxiliary verb:

(24) *txerri-a   hil   da*   vs.   *baserritarr-a-k txerri-a hil   du*
      pig-ART die.PFV AUX   farmer-ART-ERG pig-ART kill.PFV AUX
      'The pig died'   'The farmer killed the pig'

The eventive nominal corresponding to *hil* (i.e. *hilketa*) is related to the causative version of the predicate; the external argument need not be expressed:

(25) *txerri-a-ren   hil-**keta***   *deitoratu dute*
      pig-ART-GEN die/kill-keta   regret.PFV AUX
      'They regretted {the killing of the pig / *the dying of the pig}'

In other words, the nominal *hilketa* cannot be interpreted as being derived from the inchoative predicate 'die'. The same is true of other alternating predicates like *sor* 'originate, emerge' and 'create' or *azal* 'appear' and 'explain'; the eventive nominal with *-keta* (cf. 26a) or *-pen* (cf. 27a) always refers to the causative version of the predicate, with the internal argument of the root being obligatory; for the unaccusative nominal to show up, the suffix *-era* is available with the root *sor* (cf. 26b):

(26) a. *literatura-ren sor-**keta***
         literature-GEN create-keta
         'the creation of literature', '*the emergence of literature'

      b. *literatura-ren sorr-**era***
         literature-GEN emerge-keta
         'the emergence of literarature'

(27) *arazo-a-ren   azal-**pen**-a*
        problem-ART-GEN explain/appear-pen-ART
        'the explanation of the problem', '*the appearance of the problem'

The external argument of transitive predicates is generally absent but implicit in eventive nominals from transitive predicates.

    Regarding unergative predicates, these do not seem to work that well as derived event nominals:

(28) ? (*harri-jasotzaile-en*) {*lehia-**keta**-k   /   ari-**keta**-k*}   *luze iraun zuen*
        stone-lifter-PL.GEN   compete-keta-ERG exercise-keta-ERG long last   AUX
        '(The stone-lifters')   {competition / exercising} lasted a long time'

Without the subject argument, the examples are fairly good, but we have no evidence to regard these as argument taking nominals; with the subject argument, the examples are somewhat stilted. So, for the purposes of this article, I will assume that Basque unergative predicates do not allow derived eventive nominals either, but the issue is far from settled.

    ii. Lack of adverbial and PP modifiers. This is one of the diagnostics suggested in Alexiadou (*Functional Structure*) to detect the presence of the head Aspect inside nominals; with respect to Basque eventive nominals, manner adverbials and PP-modification are ruled out:

(29) a. *egunkari-a-ren* {**egunero / *atalka*}   *irakur-**keta** maite dut*
        newspaper-ART-GEN daily   by-sections read-keta   love AUX
        'I enjoy the reading of the newspaper {daily / by-sections}'

    b. *Gernika-ren (*bonba bide-z) suntsi-**pen**-a   latz-a   izan   zen*
        Gernika-GEN   bomb way-INS destruct-pen-ART harsh-ART BE.PFV AUX
        'The destruction of Gernika by (means of) bombs was a harsh event'

However, most of these modifiers are possible via the linker or functional postposition -*ko* (de Rijk, "Basque Hospitality"; Höhn; Krajewska), typical of noun-phrase internal modification:

(30) a. **egunero ogi-a   /   egunero-ko ogi-a*
        daily   bread-ART   daily-ko   bread-ART
        'the daily bread, bread of every day'

b. *_zubi-ra_   _bide-a_   /   _zubi-ra-ko_   _bide-a_
   bridge-SG.ALL path-ART   bridge-SG.ALL-ko path-ART
   'the path to the bridge'

Thus, this relational marker -_ko_ is obligatorily attached to any adverbial or PP modifier inside noun-phrases, and this also happens with eventive nominals:

(31) a. _egunkari-a-ren_   {_egunero-**ko**_ /_atalka-**ko**_}   _irakur-**keta**_   (cf. 29a)
      newspaper-ART-GEN daily-ko   by-sections-ko read-keta
      'the reading of the newspaper {daily / by sections}'

   b. _Gernika-ren_ _bonba bidez-**ko**_   _suntsi-**pen**-a_   (cf. 29b)
     Gernika-GEN bomb   way-INS-ko   destruct-pen-ART
     'The destruction of Gernika by (means of) bombs'

So, to put it bluntly, it is not that Basque eventive nominals reject adverbial or PP-modification (as argued by Gondra), but rather they have them in a way that suggests that such modifiers are merged in a nominal, rather than verbal, projection.

iii. Aspectual modifiers. These are possible through adjective modification, which is an indication of their presence attached to the head _Number_, according to Alexiadou (_Functional Structure_):

(32) a. _errealitate-a-ren iker-**keta**_   _etengabe-a_
      reality-ART-GEN   investigate-keta   incessant-ART
      'the never-ending investigation of reality'

   b. _Quevedo-ren_   _irakur-**keta** sarri-a_
     Quevedo-GEN   read-keta   frequent-ART
     'the frequent reading of Quevedo'

iv. External arguments are marked with genitive case. In other words, Basque does not have a PP-type of alternative realisation (say, in the form of an ergative DP or an instrumental adposition; cf. 33a); when overt, external arguments in Basque eventive nominals are also marked with genitive case (33b), just like in result nominals (34):

(33) a. *{*Bonaparte-k,   Bonaparte-z*} *euskalki-en   sailka-**pen**-a*…
            Bonaparte-ERG Bonaparte-INS dialect-PL.GEN classify-pen-ART
            intended: 'the classification of the Basque dialects **by** Bonaparte'

    b. *Bonaparte-ren   euskalki-en   sailka-**pen**-a-k   luze jo   zuen*
            Bonaparte-GEN dialect-PL.GEN classify-pen-ART-ERG long take.PFV AUX
            'Bonaparte's classification of the Basque dialects took a long time'

(34) *Leizarraga-ren testamendu berri-a-ren   itzul-**pen**-a   1571-ean*
         Leizarraga-GEN testament   new-ART-GEN translate-pen-ART 1571-LOC
         argitaratu   zen
         publish.PFV AUX
         'Leizarraga's translation of the New Testament was published in 1571'

With respect to the external argument, Basque seems to get away from the patterns described for other languages (e.g. English), where 'transitive' nominalisations display possessor and genitive case markings for external and internal argument respectively. We shall discuss the relevance of these data again in section 4.

     v. Derived event nominals may be plural. Again, this comes as no surprise since, contrary to Grimshaw's initial claim, it has been suggested that eventive nominals may pluralise, at least in the case of telic events; pluralisation would be an indication of the presence of the head *Classifier* (cf. Alexiadou, "Nominalizations: A Probe into the Architecture of Grammar. Part II"; Alexiadou, "D vs. n Nominalizations" calls it *Div*):

(35) a. *giza   eskubide-en bortxa-**keta** sistematiko-ak   gaitzetsi   ditu NBE-k*
            human right-PL.ART violate-keta systematic-PL.ART condemn.PFV AUX UN-ERG
            'The UN has condemned the systematic violations of human rights'

    b. *Aldaia enpresari-a-ren   eta   Ortega Lara espetxe funtzionario-a-ren*
            Aldaia entrepreneur-ART-GEN and Ortega Lara prison officer-ART-GEN
            *bahi-**keta**-(a)k   izan   zire-nean*
            kidnap-keta-PL.ART be.PFV AUX-when
            'When the kidnappings of the entrepreneur Aldaia and the prison officer
            Ortega Lara took place…'

c. *datu-en   bila-**keta-(a)k**   eten   dira.
datum-PL.GEN   search-keta-PL.ART cease.PFV AUX
'*The searchings for [literally 'of'] the data ceased'

Naturally, speakers do not like pluralising atelic events like 'searching for the data' in (35c).

vi. Determiners other than the article itself are possible. This corroborates the presence of the head *Determiner*; not surprisingly, Basque eventive nominals may be headed by, say, a demonstrative:

(36) *Arte-a, edo edertasun-a-ren bila-**keta**   **hori**, gizakoia da*
art-ART or   beauty-ART-GEN search-keta that   human   is
'Art, or **that** search of beauty, is human'

To sum up, Basque derived eventive nominals seem to follow the usual pattern in terms of predicate type (transitive and unaccusative predicates allow event nominals and this is far less evident with unergatives). Apparently, these eventive nominals have very limited verbal projections beyond what is needed for being eventive (basically *v* and *Voice*), since the rest of the modifiers (i.e. AdvPs and PPs) come in the format typical of noun-phrases (i.e. with the linker -*ko*, obligatory for noun-phrase internal modifiers; cf. 30), and aspectual modifiers are adjectives. These eventive nominals mark both the internal and external DP arguments with genitive case and no alternative PP realisation of the external argument is possible. Regarding this last point, Basque acts as having a neutralised case system:

	E/A system	Nominalisation
A-argument	ERG	GEN
S-argument	ABS (+ %ERG)	GEN
P-argument	ABS	GEN

Table 2. Basque alignment in sentences and (eventive) nominalisations

As Alexiadou ("Ergativity" 372) herself suggests, the question of how the subject argument of intransitive predicates is marked at the sentence level in Basque is open to debate: many unergative verbs are of the [noun + *egin* 'do'] type and amenable to a pure transitive analysis (Laka); there are, however, dialectal differences as to how other unergative predicates treat their sole argument (Berro and Etxepare), with some dialects opting for ergative and other (more conservative) dialects choosing

absolutive marking. The issue is far from settled in Basque linguistics nowadays, but it does not affect nominalisations; even if (clearly monovalent) unergative predicates took part in eventive nominalisations, their only argument would be marked genitive in any case (cf. 28 above).

3.3 NOMINALISED CLAUSES OR DP-NOMINALISATIONS

Along with derived eventive nominals, Basque has (what Alexiadou, "D vs. n Nominalizations" calls) a DP-type of nominalisation, based on the suffix *-t(z)e* coupled with the article; this is a kind of nominalised non-finite clause very similar to English DP-gerunds and admits all kinds of adverbial and PP modification, as well as regular case-marking for subjects (be them ergative or absolutive) and objects. These DP-nominalisations are not lexically restricted; any verbalised root can have it. Here are a couple of examples; I translate roots with the suffix *-t(z)e* with the English gerund *-ing* for simplicity:

(37) a. *Bonaparte-k   19. mende-an   euskalki-ak   xeheki*
Bonaparte-ERG 19th cent.-SG.LOC   dialect-PL.ART   thoroughly
*sailka**tze**-a-k   luze jo   zuen*
classifying-ART-ERG   long take.PFV   AUX
literally: 'Bonaparte's classifying the Basque dialects thoroughly
in the 19th century took a long time'

b. *gu etxe-ra   berandu etor**tze**-a   arazo   bat izan   da*
1PL home-to   late   coming-ART   problem one be.PF.PFV AUX
literally: 'We coming home late was a problem'

The reader may want to compare (37) with the corresponding standard finite clauses to check that subject and object arguments, adverbs and adpositional phrases run parallel in both types of structures:

(38) a. *Bonaparte-k 19.mende-an   euskalki-ak   xeheki   sailkatu zituen*
Bonaparte-ERG 19th cent.-SG.LOC dialect-PL.ART thoroughly classify.PFV AUX
'Bonaparte classified the Basque dialects thoroughly in the 19th century'

b. *Gu etxe-ra   berandu etorri   gara*
1PL home-to late   come.PFV AUX
'We came home late'

These DP-nominalisations also allow negation (39a), may display aspect shift by using a perfective form with the appropriate auxiliary (39b), and also allow speaker-oriented and modal adverbs (as in 39c–d examples):

(39)   a. *gu etxe-ra berandu **ez** etortze-a* … (cf. 37b)
                                        not
            'We not coming home late…'

        b. *gu etxe-ra   berandu etorri   **izan**-a   arazo   bat izan   da*
            1PL home-to late   come.PFV AUX-ART problem one be.PFV AUX
            'We *having* come home late was a problem'

        c. *Poz handi-a da zuek guzti-ok,   **zorionez**,   osasuntsu ego**te**-a*.
            joy big-ART is 2PL all-PROX.ART fortunately   healthy   staying-ART
            'You all, fortunately, staying healthy is a big joy'

        d. *Gu etxe-ra   **agian**   berandu etortze-a*   litekeena da
            1PL home-to perhaps   late   coming-ART possible   is
            'We perhaps coming late home is a possibility.'

On the other hand, these DP-nominalisations do not take adjectives (40a), cannot pluralise (40b) and do not usually take any D other than the article itself (40c):[7]

(40) a. * *gu etxe-ra etortze **berantiarr**-a...* (cf. 39d)
            1PL home-to coming late-ART
            'We **late** coming home...'

      b. **Bonaparte-k   19. mende-an   euskalki-ak   xeheki*
            Bonaparte-ERG 19th cent.-SG.LOC dialect-PL.ART thoroughly
            *sailka**tze-e-k**   luze jo   zuten*
            classifying-PL-ERG   long take.PFV AUX
            literally: '*Bonaparte's classifying**s** the Basque dialects thoroughly in the 19th century took a long time'

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[7] Occasionally, one finds an example with demonstratives:

(i) *libertate-a   galtze hori … oso da txikia* (R. Saizarbitoria, *Egunero*, 1969)
     freedom-art losing that   very is small
     'That losing freedom is indeed small'

   c. *_Bonaparte-k   19. mende-an   euskalki-ak   xeheki   sailka**tze**_
     Bonaparte-ERG 19th cent.-SG.LOC dialect-PL.ART thoroughly classifying
     hark   _luze jo_   _zuen_
     that.ERG long take.PFV AUX
     literally: '**That** Bonaparte's classifying the Basque dialects thoroughly in the 19th century took a long time'

To wrap up this short description of Basque DP-nominalisations, one must crucially add that this nominalisation naturally admits an event reading, as the reader can check in the translation of (37) above.

4. TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF EVENT NOMINALS IN TERMS OF FUNCTIONAL PROJECTIONS

4.1 A PROPOSAL FOR DERIVED EVENT NOMINALS

Let us recall what the main findings of section 3 are. First, Basque derived event nominals seem to follow the usual pattern in terms of predicate type (transitive and unaccusative predicates); they have very limited verbal projections beyond what is needed for being eventive; moreover, the rest of the modifiers (PPs and so on) come in the format typical of noun-phrases; in fact, adjectives are used for aspectual modification. Finally, Basque derived event nominals mark both the internal and external DP arguments with genitive case and, in so doing, Basque is acting as having a neutralised case system.

In what follows, I will sketch a proposal to analyse derived event nominals that will account for the properties just defined. First of all, I assume that Basque derived nominals have a very limited set of verbal projections, possibly just _Voice_ and little _v_. This _Voice_ head is defective in that it does not project the external argument and does not assign (objective) case either, just like in English and other languages (Alexiadou, _Functional Structure_); the lack of adverbs and PP modifiers is probably tied to this defective character. Bruening refers to the situation in passive nominals as _an unsaturated_ VoiceP. Bruening and Alexiadou ("Ergativity") both share the view that, in cases like this, the external argument may be projected outside the verbal layer (provided it is not alternatively realised as a _by_-phrase inside VoiceP). The kind of tree diagram I have in mind (at least for -_keta_ and -_pen_ nominals derived from transitive predicates) is represented in (41) below:[8]

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[8] For the suffix -_era_ two possibilities come to mind: it merges with a vP layer (and lacks an external argument by definition), or else it merges with a voiceP of the relevant kind, as suggested by Berro et al., after Woods, for inchoatives. I leave this issue open for future research.

(41)

[based on Alexiadou, "Ergativity" 370]

The head *Poss* (or *Agr* inside DPs) attracts both external and internal arguments, given that Basque has no nP internal genitive case, inherent or not. Let me elaborate on this.

As argued in Artiagoitia ("Genitive Case"), the head *Possessor/Agr* (cf. Szabolsci; de Wit) in DP may attract both the complement of the root and the external argument, giving rise to a multiple specifier configuration (à la Richards). The displacement of both arguments is evidenced by their positioning with respect to numerals; the lower nP is marked with brackets so that the displacement of genitive subject and object from underlying positions can be best appreciated:

(42)   *Bonaparte-ren*$_i$ *euskalki-en*$_j$ *hiru* [$_{nP}$ ~~Bonaparteren~~$_i$ ~~euskalkien~~$_j$
        Bonaparte-GEN dialect-PL.GEN three
        *sailka-**pen**]-ak*
        classify-pen-PL.ART
        'The three classifications of the Basque dialects by Bonaparte'

That is to say, both object and subject genitives are realised high up in the structure; the same is true, of course, if there is no overt external argument:

(43) a. *euskalki-en*$_j$ *hiru* [$_{nP}$ ~~euskalkien~~$_j$ *sailka-**pen**]-ak*
        dialect-PL.GEN three   classify-pen-PL.ART
        'The three classifications of the Basque dialects'

b. *hiru [$_{nP}$ euskalki-en   sailka-**pen**]-ak
   three   dialect-PL.GEN classify-pen-PL.ART
   intended: 'The three classifications of the Basque dialects'

Raising of the genitive object is obligatory; it cannot remain inside the nominal projection.

The multiple specifier configuration is argued for in Artiagoitia ("Genitive Case") based on superiority, lack of scope ambiguity and, foremost, the existence of Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects, which precludes the combination of any 1st and 2nd person genitive arguments but permits the combination of a 3rd person and a 1st/2nd person (44a vs. 44b):

(44) a. *ni-re   zu-re   (hiru) erretratu-ak
        1SG-GEN 2SG-GEN three portrait-ART.PL
        'My (three) portraits of you'

    b. ni-re   Malen-en   (hiru) erretratu-ak
       1SG-GEN Malen-GEN three portrait-ART.PL
       'My (three) portraits of Malen'

Jeong's version of the constraint is adopted in that work:

(45)   *General PCC*
         Two DPs cannot be [+person]/[+animate] if they check that feature against the same functional head (Jeong 419)

The 3rd person *Malen-en* in (43b) is considered [-person] and [-animate].[9]

It is true, though, that most of the discussion in Artiagoitia ("Genitive Case") revolves around result nominals, not eventive nominals. Crucially, the same PCC effect obtains with event nominals:

(46)   a. *Bonaparte-ren euskalki-en   hiru   sailka-**pen**-ak* =√ 3p + 3 p
            Bonaparte-GEN dialect-PL.GEN three   classify-pen-PL.ART
            'The three classifications of the Basque dialects by Bonaparte'

         b. *ni-re   Malen-en   deskriba-**pen**-a*   = √ 1p + 3p
            1sg-GEN Malen-GEN describe-pen-ART
            'my description of Malen'

---

[9] This is so because Basque genitive case (unlike dative) is not restricted to animate entities (cf. *Paris-en askapena* 'the liberation of Paris'). See Artiagoitia ("Genitive Case" 232ff.) for details.

c. * *ni-re   zu-re   deskriba-**pen**-a*   = * 1p + 2p
    1SG-GEN   2SG-GEN describe-pen-ART
    'my description of you'

Therefore, the proposal that the head *Possessor* may attract the subject and object arguments and that Basque has a structural genitive case for both subject and object arguments seems well-founded.[10] This is in clear contradiction to the assumption made in the literature (cf. Alexiadou, "Ergativity" 369, who cites Haegeman and Lohndal).

4.2 BASQUE DP-NOMINALISATIONS AND THE EVENT READING

Basque nominalised non-finite clauses display nearly all of the verbal internal properties mentioned by Alexiadou ("D vs. n Nominalizations") and outlined in (6), as well as a few others (i.e. v–vi) that point in the same direction, that is: i. clausal subject marking as in sentences (i.e. both ergative and absolutive subjects); ii. all regular PP and adverbial modifiers are possible, but no adjectives; iii. speaker and modal adverbs are allowed; iv. there is the possibility of perfective nominalisations; v. sentential negation is possible; vi. DP-nominalisations cannot be pluralised; vii. D is limited to the article and the (context sensitive) partitive determiner. Clearly, this is what forces them to have a DP-distribution.[11]

In sum, Basque DP-nominalisations clearly take after English DP-gerunds with the exception of having clause-like subjects and high adverbs. Therefore, I assume that they have the following syntactic architecture:

(47) RootP < vP < VoiceP < AspP < (NegP) < TnsP < DP

---

[10] The only instance of inherent genitive in Basque may be the one available in bare noun-phrases; the argument there only has a theme interpretation. For example, the nominal *oroigarri* is ambiguous between 'reminder' and 'souvenir'; the genitive in a bare nominal only admits an object-theme interpretation:

(i) *egizue   hau **ni-re**   **oroigarri***
    do.IMP.2PL this 1SG-GEN   reminder/souvenir
    'Do this as a reminder of me'; Intended: **'Do this as if it were my souvenir/reminder'

See Artiagoitia ("Genitive Case" 221ff) for discussion.

[11] The Basque article does not always have a definite interpretation and may have an existential interpretation (cf. Artiagoitia, "The Functional Structure"; Etxeberria); this probably explains the possibility of switching to the partitive determiner in negative polarity contexts.

With some nuances depending on whether the suffix -*t(z)e* is interpreted as a member of category Tense (Goenaga; Ortiz de Urbina), Aspect, some kind of nominal (Etxepare) or just a nominaliser bearing aspect features (Artiagoitia, *Verbal Projections*), the fully clausal character of these nominalisations has been pretty much the consensus among Basque linguists across the works by Goenaga, Ortiz de Urbina, Odriozola and Zabala, Duguine, San Martín, and so forth.[12]

One obvious difference between English DP-gerunds and Basque DP-nominalisations is that the former lack the Tns (cf. 3a) head responsible for the subject's nominative case, whereas the Basque counterpart incorporates the said functional category responsible for clausal subject marking.[13] Beyond that, a further contrast between English DP-gerunds and Basque DP-nominalisations involves two more features, one of which might be related to the presence/lack of Tns and is certainly crucial for our discussion. The first one is that Basque DP-nominalisations have the possibility of an event reading, a reading apparently rejected by English DP-gerunds:

(48) **John's performing the song took a long time* (Alexiadou, *Functional Structure* 2)
        → English DP-gerund   = * with event reading

(49) *Jon-ek   kanta oso-a   jo**tze**-a-k   denbora luze-a   eskatu   zuen*
       Jon-ERG song entire-ART playing-ART-ERG time   long-ART require.PFV AUX
       'Jon's playing the entire song required a long time'
       → Basque DP-nominalisation   = √ with event reading

And the second difference is that Basque DP-nominalisations are by far the most common type of non-finite complementation in the language, whereas English alternates both infinitival complements and DP-gerunds, the former being the most common option. Note that verbs that would select infinitival complements in English select a DP-nominalisation in Basque:

(50) I {wanted / decided}…
        a. * *your reading a book*
        b. *for you to read a book*

_____

[12] One of the reviewers asks whether PRO is possible in (47). Duguine argues that empty subject pronominals in these structures are *pro*, rather than PRO. Other type of tenseless complement clauses in Basque do not alternate between overt and silent subjects; for these, she proposes that they have PRO subjects.

[13] In the case of absolutive subjects, one must assume that some EPP-feature other than the checking of ergative case itself is what makes the subject move to TnsP.

(51) *zu-k   liburu bat irakurtze-a   {nahi / erabaki} nuen*[14]
    2SG-ERG book   one reading-ART want   decide   AUX
    'I {wanted /decided} that you read a book' (literally: 'your reading a book')

In this respect, there is a contrast, too, with Spanish nominalised verbal infinitives (de Miguel), which are often taken as a paradigmatic example of DP-nominalisations with many clausal functional categories. Crucially, these nominalised verbal infinitives have a very limited distribution as complement clauses:

(52) a. (*El*) *leer el Quijote te llevará mucho tiempo*
    'Reading el Quijote will take you a lot of time'

    b. *María {prefiere / ha decidido}* (**el*) *leer el Quijote*
    'María {prefers / has decided} reading el Quijote'

(53) a. *La lectura del Quijote te llevará mucho tiempo*
    'The reading of el Quijote will take you a lot of time'

    b. *María {prefiere / ha decidido} la lectura del Quijote*
    'María {prefers / has decided} the reading of el Quijote'

As the reader can see, Spanish nominalised verbal infinitives are no good as complements to verbs like *preferir* or *decidir* (the normal option would be a plain infinitive, an option that is highly limited in Basque; cf. note 14) but the corresponding derived eventive nominal is fine (53b). Basque has a DP-nominalisation as the preferred option for selecting verbs of this kind.

    In a nutshell, Basque DP-nominalisations are pretty much general in the language and systematically permit an event reading; therefore, they would appear to render derived event nominals somewhat superfluous.

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[14] Basque has true infinitives with modal verbs like *nahi* 'want', *behar* 'need', which are of obligatory control and must have a silent subject:

(i) *liburu bat irakurri {nahi, behar} dut*
    book one read   want need   aux
    'I {want, have / need} to read a book'

The non-finite form of the verb in (i) is the participle, i.e. the citation form, which lacks the perfective value it has in periphrastic verbal forms (cf. *liburu bat irakurri dut* 'I have read a book'). For other types of non-finite complementation, see Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina (656–710), Arteatx and Duguine.

5. CONCLUSIONS

From the preceding discussion, we can draw three conclusions. First of all, Basque derived event nominals have a very limited verbal structure, possibly reducible to vP and defective VoiceP projections. This is in principle no surprise and fits very well into the range of possible variation within nominalisations advocated by Alexiadou (*Functional Structure*) and subsequent works. What is remarkable is that nominalisations of this sort are relatively bookish and somewhat artificial for many speakers

Secondly, and linked to the previous conclusion, DP-nominalisations provide the reverse situation, since they are a general and unrestricted form of nominalisation, much more common in the language; as a matter of fact, they represent the most usual type of non-finite complementation in Basque. Crucially, these DP-nominalisations systematically allow an event reading (contrary to what happens in English, for example). Therefore, one might think that Basque has little pressure to project verbal structure in event nominals, because it has an alternative (powerful) structure.

Finally, regarding the specific analysis of Basque derived event nominalisations, the language appears to lack the possibility of genitive case within the *n* head projection; instead, it allows *Poss* to attract both external and internal arguments to a multiple specifier configuration. In other words, Basque is an ergative-absolutive language at the sentence level but has a neutralised case system noun-phrase internally.

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FUNCTIONAL HEADS AND EVENTIVE NOMINALS: THE BASQUE PERSPECTIVE

This article shows that Basque has a few suffixes (*-era*, *-keta*, *-pen*) which give rise to the type of eventive nominals described in the literature (Grimshaw; Picallo; Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*). Nominals headed by these suffixes are passive-like (cf. Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*), obligatorily take genitive arguments and are mostly restricted to unaccusative and transitive predicates, but have a very limited eventive reading: they do not take adverbial modification (aspectual modification is realised through adjectives) and adpositional phrases show up with the functional linker *-ko*, typical of nominal structures (de Rijk, "Basque Hospitality"). A peculiar feature of Basque is that the external argument has genitive case, just like the internal argument; this double genitive structure suggests that Basque has a neutralised case system at the nominal level. On the other hand, Basque has nominalised clauses which admit all kinds of adverbial and PP modification, as well as regular subject case-marking (be it ergative or absolutive); this type of nominalised clauses may have an eventive reading. I propose that Basque nominalised clauses have the structure DP-TP-(NegP)-AspP-VoiceP-vP-root. For derived event nominals, I claim that Basque only projects up to VoiceP, with the nominaliser selecting a Voice head with a [-external argument] feature (Alexiadou, "Ergativity"). The selection of an unsaturated VoiceP forces the external argument of the root to be projected at the nominal level (Bruening): DP-PossP-NumP-ClassP-nP[***ext. argument***]-Voice$_{[-ext. arg.]}$P-vP-Root. Basque grammar resorts to structural case-checking by the head *Possesor* (de Wit), which attracts all the DPs in its c-commanding domain and creates a multiple-specifier configuration of the kind defended in Richards. The rest of the features displayed by derived event nominals follow from the limited number of verbal functional projections available.

Keywords: Basque; derived nominal; functional head; event; nominalisation.

FUNCJONALNE CZŁONY GŁÓWNE I NOMINALIZACJE AKCJI: PERSPEKTYWA BASKIJSKA

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Niniejszy artykuł wykazuje, że język baskijski posiada pewne sufiksy (*-era*, *-keta*, *-pen*), które tworzą nominalizacje akcji, jak opisano w literaturze przedmiotu (Grimshaw; Picallo; Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*). Rzeczowniki z takimi członami głównymi stanowią konstrukcje pseudo-pasywne (Alexiadou, *Functional Structure*), występują z obligatoryjnymi argumentami w dopełniaczu, a ich bazy ograniczają się w większości do predykatów nieakuzatywnych i przechodnich. Nominalizacje te posiadają bardzo ograniczone znaczenie, mało związane z akcją. Można to wywnioskować z faktu, że nie tolerują modyfikacji przysłówkowej (podczas gdy modyfikacja aspektowa realizowana jest przez przymiotnik), a frazy w adpozycji występują z funkcjonalnym łącznikiem *-ko*, typowym dla struktur nominalnych (de Rijk, "Basque Hospitality"). Szczególną cechą baskijskiego jest argument zewnętrzny w dopełniaczu, tak jak i argument wewnętrzny; struktura z podwójnym dopełniaczem sugeruje, że baskijski posiada zneutralizowany system przypadków dla fraz nominalnych. Z drugiej jednak strony,

w baskijskim występują znominalizowane struktury zdaniowe, które pozwalają na wszelkiego rodzaju modyfikacje przysłówkowe i frazami przyimkowymi, a także regularne oznaczanie przypadkiem ergatywnym czy absolutywnym podmiotu zdaniowego; ten typ znominalizowanych struktur zdaniowych może mieć znaczenie akcji. W artykule proponuję, że baskijskie znominalizowane struktury zdaniowe wyrażają się następującymi kategoriami: DP-TP-(NegP)-Asp-VoiceP-vP-Root. Dla derywowanych rzeczowników akcji twierdzę, że baskijski posiada projekcje tylko do poziomu VoiceP, gdzie element nominalizujący wybiera człon główny strony z cechą [-argument zewnętrzny] (Alexiadou, "Ergativity"). Wybór niesaturowanej frazy strony sprawia, że zewnętrzny argument rdzenia posiada projekcję na poziomie rzeczownika (Bruening): DP-PossP-NumP-classP-nP[argument zewnętrzny]-Voice [-arg. zew.]P-vP-Root. Gramatyka baskijskiego ucieka się do strukturalnego sprawdzania przypadka przez człon główny Posesora (de Wit), który przyciąga wszystkie frazy DP w swojej domenie *c-command* i tworzy konfiguracje składające się z wielu modyfikacji, z rodzaju tych postulowanych przez Richardsa. Pozostałe cechy charakteryzujące derywowane rzeczowniki akcji są konsekwencją ograniczonej liczby dostępnych projekcji funkcjonalnych.

Przekład angielskiego streszczenia
Anna Malicka-Kleparska

Słowa kluczowe: baskijski; rzeczownik derywowany; funkcjonalny człon główny; wydarzenie; nominalizacja.